/642 cont./

583 584 431 the bride's dowry." This interpretation is meaningless. The canoe, without which a young married couple cannot exist, is usually built by the husband himself, or by his own father or neighbors with the young man's help. Possibly the father of the bride also took part in its construction. The harpoon is part of the equipment of a man and is neither used by a woman nor given by her to a man.

583 In some of the literature, mention is made of abduction, but specific examples or cases that have been observed are not cited. Despard (b):698 maintained: "Sometimes wives are stolen, sometimes they run away. When recovered, after either case, they are beaten, the supposition being, it seems, that in the former case they themselves encouraged the theft" /cited in English/. The qualification mentioned is significant and is immediately put to account. Hyades (p):334 states briefly that "one sometimes observes a marriage by capture" /translated from French/ (19). The way of life and the position of a marriageable

19. It is not likely that the Mission Scientifique observed the procedure of an abduction. The same Hyades (b):1346 expresses himself in another place more vaguely, "sometimes there is marriage by capture" /translated from French/.

girl within her family absolutely contradicts all false assertions, for it is simply impossible to abduct a woman. It is true that
• 837 sometimes a married woman who wishes secretly to leave her husband accepts the help of a man whom she knows well in order to escape. If, however, she chooses this expedient, namely, flight under the protection of a man, it is her own decision. Moreover, it can happen that a married woman yields to persuasion and /643/ follows her seducer for a few days, after which she returns to her rightful husband. Neither case has anything to do with abduction. BD:227 gives kwissāguntūkū, "to take by force another man's wife and marry her as a wife" /cited in English/; also BD:303, manāgulū, "to escape as a wife from her husband by stealth" /cited in English/. The proper meaning here,

/643 cont./

837 too, is that a lawful husband is abused when his wife puts herself in the hands of a devoted rival who carries her off and keeps her in his hut as his wife.

584 In one place Hyades (q):378 speaks as though the girl is given away by her father. "The young girl is not consulted in the choice of a husband; the parents give her to the one who suits them and who is always the strongest and the most respected among the candidates" /translated from French/. This empty assertion utterly fails to recognize the fact that the parents are very much concerned about the future welfare of their child and that they inquire about the conduct of the husband, quite apart from the fact that they naturally find it painful to lose their daughter to the chosen man. Finally, arbitrarily disposing of her without consulting her wishes is not consistent with her right -- sometimes exercised -- of running away from her unbearable, rude husband and again seeking protection in the hut of her parents.

The true facts of the matter become very clear from what we have briefly said by way of correcting erroneous reports (20).

> 20. The two forms mentioned by Bove (c):128 are mutually exclusive, for he says: "Marriage can be considered as a purchase of the woman by the man and a union of love and reciprocal congeniality" /translated from Spanish/.

The marriageable girl is neither given away nor sold nor abducted. She is completely free to choose the chap who appeals to her fancy. Courtship rests on this fundamental freedom. That is why in the case of young people of marriageable age the elders sometimes waive the otherwise prevalent separation of the sexes, for "that is the time when a boy and girl become acquainted, when they feel whether they will get along together for the rest of their lives [in marriage]." This is what Mary said.

867 In instructing girls on the occasion of their first menstruation and in occasional conversations, older women repeat the following admonition in various words: "Do not give yourself to the first chap who comes along, who flatters you, but choose the one

/650 cont./

587 As we implied earlier, relationship by marriage is not regarded as blood relationship among our Yamana. It is no obstacle to marriage and, under certain conditions, is even an obligation for a levirate marriage. If the sister-in-law becomes a widow, the oldest brother, in terms of years, of her deceased husband must care for her and her children, provided a younger brother does not obtrude. The wife of the brother-in-law in question may not legally oppose this marriage, nor would either of these two be permitted to reject the widow because of the many children she brings with her (p. 412).

595 Aside from the obligation to take the widowed sister-in-law in marriage, the principle mentioned above is also clearly seen in
• 837 an occasional marriage of two sisters simultaneously to one and the same man (26). A direct development usually leads to this

26. Hahn (a):805 summarizes both instances in the single sentence: "A man may marry two sisters and the wife of his brother" /translated from French/. Cooper:165, drawing on various sources, concludes: "It is a common practice among both the Onas and Yahgans for a man to marry two sisters" /cited in English/. Bridges (h):210 gives the following reason for this: "When a man marries more than one woman, the wives are usually sisters, which tends to strengthen the bonds of the family" /translated from Spanish/. This way of expressing it sounds credible and is close to what actually happens; this is less true of the statement he made 17 years earlier: "Polygamy is very general, and men generally have sisters of their wives, one sister after another as they become marriageable being given to the same husband" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869).

situation. When the married sister takes in her unmarried sister to help with the work or to be her companion, /651/ the brother-in-law not infrequently also falls in love with her. Sooner or later he will become intimate with her and will finally have sexual intercourse with her. Hence, he must ultimately acknowledge her as

/651 cont./

595 •837 [626] his wife. Their marriage takes place without any formality, and the sexual relations between them become known to the neighborhood at the latest when pregnancy is well advanced, if not long before. If the man has no valid reason for this step and is guided merely by sensuality, he must be prepared for the bitter reproach and biting irony of his neighbors, intended to censure severely his weakness of character. Marriage with two sisters is not forbidden, but public opinion demands a reason for it, such as that the first wife cannot do her work because she is ill or that she has been blessed with a great many children. She perhaps had invited her sister into the hut as a helper, and since the latter adjusted well, the lawful wife will finally, on her own initiative, propose to her husband that he likewise regard her sister, who is probably always younger, as his wife. This is one way in which polygamy arises. Sometimes, also, consideration for the still unmarried sister-in-law will lead to it, for if she has become accustomed to her brother-in-law over a period of time, she will not look for another man, but will wait for her brother-in-law's proposal, or she will force herself upon him so insistently that he will yield to her wish. Her sister may not even be in favor of it.

587 Closely related to this is the view that, upon the death of his wife, a man has a certain right to his unmarried sister-in-law. If he proposes to her, she probably always accepts. If she refuses, however, and he nevertheless wants her, he may bring her into his hut by force. This is known as kuśátuku. This happens very rarely, however, for everyone knows that a woman who follows a man only because she is forced to do so cannot be held permanently.

Economic conditions in Tierra del Fuego make it imperative for every adult to marry, hence widowed persons (pp. 413, 480) do not remain alone very long. This sometimes leads to a considerable difference in age between the two partners, which does not constitute an obstacle to marriage and is apparently not even regarded as improper. An active young woman is more useful to an older widower than a woman as old as he is. For her part, the young creature expects to be treated with understanding by a quiet old man. From both sides, therefore, gentle pressure is exerted for the marriage of an old widower with a young woman(27).

27. It is an exaggeration, however, when

/667 cont./

595 will take a healthy girl. This decision is very welcome to many a contentious old woman, because she now has a young creature completely under her domination. Thus she compensates for the fact that he shows more fondness toward the other than toward her. In both instances, the reason for polygamy is evident (54).

54. Different interpretations and descriptions should be corrected on the basis of these principles. According to Bove (e):157, "the necessity for having paddlers for the canoe, as well as a great predilection for the female sex, is the reason for such widespread polygamy. This is doubtless the most effective cause for the impoverishment of that race." The remark by Bridges (e):332 that "bigamy was very prevalent because of the great advantages connected with it" means nothing.

595 At various times Fred Lawrence repeated to me: "A Yamana
• 937 never keeps a second woman as his wife, in addition to his first
586 wife, for purely sensual reasons. If his lust is so great, he seeks relief in forbidden ways. If he has become absolutely infatuated with another woman who responds to his intentions, he gets rid of his first wife without further ado in order to be able to live with her alone, undisturbed."

595 In February, 1920, reliable Alfredo explained to me emphatically in the presence of his own wife and old Julia, neither of whom contradicted him: "If a Yamana wants to take another person into his hut as a second wife, he does not need to ask his wife about it. But he almost always does so, for he loves his wife!" In other words, a man who has grown tired of his wife prefers to dismiss her before he brings a second wife into his hut without her knowledge. If he nevertheless does so, "his first wife must patiently yield. Perhaps she does not like this living together and she herself finally leaves. But she continues to be tractable and submissive toward the man; she does not call him to account if he foists a rival upon her without her knowledge and against her will." This explanation by Alfredo was later confirmed by other persons.

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595 Nothing indicates that the Yamana would permit actual polyandry (60). So-called sexual promiscuity was already

60. On April 22, 1871, Bridges (i):21 clearly stated: "In no case has a woman been known to have more than one husband at a time, but successively some have had two or even more" /cited in English/, and later he (h):210 repeated: "A woman has never been known to have more than one husband at a time" /translated from Spanish/. Many a married woman, however, secretly had an illicit affair.

•[837]

definitely disavowed by Fitz-Roy (a):182: "Jemmy Button often talked of his father, mother, brothers, and sisters, also of uncles and aunts, after he knew enough of our language to understand distinctly the relationship. Now this could not have been the case had not his father and mother lived together permanently as man and wife, according to the clear account which he himself always gave of their custom in this respect" /cited in English/.

[197] The Anglican missionaries, beginning with Stirling, endeavored to put an end to polygamy; Bridges even obtained an injunction from the government (61). Unfortunately, the missionaries did

61. On May 28, 1887, he reported: "Again, cases of natives taking a second wife are punished by imprisonment, and thus happily prevented" /cited in English/ (MM:XXI, 176; 1887).

not take into account the fact that in some families a second wife was demanded by economic necessity. As such, however, polygamy is contrary to the general feeling of justice among the Yamana, and reasonable exceptions are merely tolerated (p. 440).

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593
152 false assertion of a few navigators that our Fuegians had handed over their women and girls without resistance.

When there is greater inclination toward jealousy, it is without doubt "the reason for brutalities inflicted by the husband on his wife" /translated from French/. Many men are so susceptible that one cannot be careful enough in his attitude toward their wives, if he wishes to save himself unpleasantness. Outes (g): 55 reports: The men "are very jealous and an inopportune look at his wives is enough to arouse his distrust and to cause the murder of the suspect" /translated from Spanish/. It is true that the jealous husband will occasionally give vent to his rage in serious beatings, but it has never gone as far as murder, according to Fred Lawrence who corrected this report for me. The lot of a woman with a husband so unfortunately predisposed is unpleasant. She must always fear his outbursts of rage, although she herself is blameless and very careful in her conduct.

/684/ Is this pronounced jealousy among men caused by their
837 concern over marital fidelity among their wives? This may be true to a certain extent. Certainly, as a rule, the two spouses are faithful, and people without exception esteem this virtue highly. BD:267 gives hingun: "a sober, sensible and faithful wife or woman" /cited in English/. We must agree with Spegazzini (a):166, who emphasizes: "Fidelity is a carefully guarded virtue, whether out of fear of the husband who will repudiate or kill her on account of mere suspicion or because of natural habit /translated from Spanish/ (84). Although fidelity is esteemed in public

84. On July 27, 1872, Bridges (i):18 entered the following in his diary: "Adultery was condemned as a crime and faithfullness extolled as a virtue" /cited in English/.

and everyone tries to avoid accusations of violating it, nevertheless individual violations occasionally did and do occur, and many a married person has secretly transgressed. Bridges' assertion, "there is no fidelity between man and wife" /cited in English/ (VSA:XIII, 203;1866), is false in its generality, and he

/684 cont./

837 himself corrected it soon after, saying that "generally a great deal of unfaithfulness" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869) is customary. Six years later he (i):19 learned of the splendid [538] Yamana simile, "an adulterous person was likened to a rotten tree which has only to be touched to fall" /cited in English/. If a people seeks such a means of defense, it confirms its alarm over the serious danger which threatens it from marital infidelity.

A surprisingly large number of words signifying adulterous action have been collected in BD. Hyades and Spegazzini several times mention the fact that adultery is committed by the husband as well as the wife. The reliable Fred Lawrence assured me with all certainty that, according to his ten years' experience, a considerable number of women had lovers. Each of them knew that she was bound to fidelity toward her husband (85), but

> 85. Hyades (q):378 also emphasizes that the Indian women "are bound in fidelity to their husbands" /translated from French/. It is an exaggeration, however, when Martial:199 says: "Fidelity is very rare in the Fuegian marriages, and morals are very loose" /translated from French/.

nevertheless yielded to the urge in greatest secrecy. It is difficult to decide who is chiefly to blame, but each of the guilty parties has his share. "The seducer was probably generally to blame" (Gusinde [ℓ]:168); we might deduce this from the admonitions given young girls in the čiẽxaus ceremony. "The women of to-
837 day," Fred Lawrence continued, "are scarcely ashamed of their
177 transgressions and force themselves preferably on Europeans because they are paid by them. Where else did one or another of the women get her new dress, since neither she nor her husband earned anything to pay for it! In former times the illicit affair was kept secret, but nowadays many an older Indian woman is not at all embarrassed if one accuses her openly. Her husband is silent, for he knows that she /685/ is supplying herself with the things she wants." Some Indians were even offended at the behavior of old Marocha, so much so that they repeatedly spoke

/685 cont./

837 177 to me about her in very unfavorable terms (in this connection see the account on p. 353 /untranslated/).

593 837 627 Formerly, as we have said, adulterous acts had to be anxiously concealed from the eyes of the injured partner. If a man caught his wife, he thrashed her soundly and watched her more closely after that. If, moreover, he learned the identity of the other guilty party, he beat him if he was a match for him, or he summoned his own relatives to help (86). In any case he left the

86. Martial:199 describes the punishment of an adulterer which he himself observed in Orange Bay.

vicinity with his undependable wife. Many a man only gradually recovered from his wife's misstep and only after he had repeatedly thrashed her (87). It never went so far as conscious killing;

87. According to Hyades (p):335 and (d):309, "Adultery of the wife is punished by beatings which the husband or her parents inflict on the guilty party and her accomplice" /translated from French/.

there is the possibility, however, that a woman may have succumbed as a result of heavy blows (88). It very seldom happened

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88. Martial:199 and also Dabbene (b):189 express themselves in the same vein. It is not correct to speak of actual murder on the part of the husband. The assertion by Outes (g):58 is as false as it is emphatic.

that a man dismissed his faithless wife forever solely because of this offense, even though she may have stayed with her lover for a time and later returned to the hut of her lawful husband (89). If, however, it could be proved that she became

89. Martial:199 tells of an adulteress who

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593 found her way back to her husband after
837 an absence of three months and was taken
586 in again by him.

pregnant by her lover -- this occurred in the extremely rare case where she was still young and her lawful husband was old -- the husband sent the adulteress irrevocably back to her lover and definitely separated from her.

593 If a wife catches her husband philandering, she usually has
837 no alternative, but to overcome the humiliation silently. A spirited woman will make a noisy scene, scold the sinner, and expose his shameful deed to others, which wounds him more than a beating (90). The relatives of the wife would not dare beat the

90. "The adultery of the husband is not punished, except by the jealous scenes of his wife" /translated from French/.

faithless one; they do no more than to advise her to leave him. Sometimes a very hurt wife has come to blows with her errant husband, if she and another wife in the same hut were both betrayed by their common husband (01).

91. Spegazzini (a):166 reports having seen an Indian "completely paralyzed as a result of a beating which his wives gave him because of this kind of misdeed" /translated from Spanish/.

837 We lack evidence to determine definitely the number of
558 cases of marital infidelity, since every Yamana makes a serious effort /686/ to keep his lapses strictly secret. The fact is, however, according to Gusinde (l):168, that "among the Yamana this shortcoming was more frequent than among the other two Fuegian tribes." There is no doubt, however, that everyone who is known to have erred in this respect experiences perceptible injury to his honor (92).

92. According to Hyades' (q):378 way of

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expressing himself, adultery is accompanied by "a certain public disrespect" /translated from French/. It is this general condemnation that guilty parties find particularly painful and degrading.

548 Our Indians hold female virtue in high esteem. In this connection we must not fail to mention that Hyades (q):239, 378 takes a very firm stand against the false reports by a few travelers about the prostitution of Indian women. "We have never seen a Fuegian man yield his wife or the one he loves to his best friends or even to the lure of large rewards. Many travelers believe that they have seen the opposite, but in the instances they have observed, the women and young girls were not by any means necessarily joined by love or even marriage to the savages who proposed to give them away. We will cite below a number of examples to prove our assertions" /translated from French/ (93). Not even the present relaxation of morals is ap-

93. In Outes (g):59, also, it is clearly stated: "No individual sells his wife to another" /translated from Spanish/.

proved by the true Yamana, and they accept many misdeeds silently only because they are powerless to do anything about it.

836 Sexual morality is quite generally esteemed, and this,
867 naturally, also includes premarital chastity (p. 411). Children would not be permitted any kind of license nor would they attempt it; there is, generally speaking, no sexual freedom for the girl. Quite the contrary, many Europeans, to their unexpected surprise, came up against a strong, emphatic morality and modest reserve among the Fuegian women, whose body covering could hardly be imagined as scantier. In order to prevent lapses in this sphere, the adults see to it that boys and girls are separated from early youth until puberty, and they warn them ceaselessly with informative advice. It is entirely wrong to maintain, as Hyades (q):378 does, that "the young girls are free to conduct themselves as they please" /translated from French/. Even

586 [602] /690 cont./ her, when she is sometimes taken away from him and given to another" /cited in English/.

Young married couples sometimes separate after they have become better acquainted with each other and a definite antipathy has developed. This situation, of course, also may come about in the case of a couple who have shared the same hut for decades (102).

102. Bridges (a):184 mentions: "It frequently happens that there is inseparable aversion on the girl's part to her husband, and she leaves him, and if she persists in hating him she is then given to one she likes" /cited in English/.

586 837 Usually the real cause is an outside one, namely, a love affair with another person, which now presses toward a rupture of the existing marriage bond by any means available. Finally, in very exceptional cases, a man will get rid of a wife who has manifestly committed adultery (p. 468). In cases of adultery everyone is very lenient, for men, too, are by no means paragons of virtue in this respect.

586 It should be recognized that, although divorce among our Yamana is, to be sure, accomplished fairly easily, it is accompanied by significant secondary effects. It sounds ridiculous to maintain with Hyades (q):378: "Before the women become mothers, it is not rare to see them change husbands several times, either because of feminine inconstancy or because of bad treatment on the part of their spouses" /translated from French/ (103). Does anyone really believe

103. Apparently he simply repeats what Bridges (i):20 entered in his diary on April 22, 1871: "Not infrequently before they became settled in life, they have had many husbands, for the marriage relationship was not secure unless children were born to unite the parents in a common care for them" /cited in English/. I have already replied to this threadbare contention (pp. 408, 411).

that the appearance of the /691/ first child takes such a long time

/989 cont./
seriously and habitually. The same serious situation arises when a woman leaves her husband, for she usually tries to steal away because of a love affair with another man.

The thirst for revenge is, of course, most deeply aroused by an actual, premeditated murder, and nothing sets families against each other so violently as this act. For the Yamana every human life, even that of a child, is most precious and sacred (Bridges [h]:205); hence murder is an utterly abhorrent deed (408). There

408. In this connection compare our account of infanticide (p. 528) and abortion (pp. 491, 536).

are exceptions, however. Most murders come about through adultery. For example, if a married man is looking for a new tie and leaves his wife without cause, her relatives take her part, and they demand that the faithless husband give an account of himself or they simply take the law into their own hands and murder him. They say: "This woman joined herself to this man and they should live together to the end of their lives; since he failed in his duty, he must be punished!" Divorce without adequate cause is an offense against a generally recognized law. Each murder of this kind unleashes a serious /990/ danger for another human life because of the obligation for blood vengeance, and the danger is even greater in the case of a murder for an insignificant reason (409). In view

409. Bridges (VSA:XI, 260;1864) mentions: "If a man kills another causelessly, his relations are greatly displeased, since it brings each one of them into danger. This is a great preventive to blood-shedding" /cited in English/.

of the dangerous position one puts himself into by an act of murder, the individual holds himself in check, even on occasions of greatest excitement and the almost unconquerable passion for revenge.

It must be said that murder is rare among the Yamana, although we cannot give exact figures (Cooper:176). On June 20, 1884, Bridges (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884) attempted some statistics on murder:

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

591 after which they would usually go for good to the groom's kin. Thus, localized groups of kin tended to be paternal.

604 After marriage the husband's paternal uncle and the wife's maternal aunt took particular interest in them, superseding in large measure their respective parents. Children-in-law were expected to
606 look after their parents-in-law in sickness or other needs. Children-in-law observed a number of avoidances regarding their parents-in-law: greeting their parents-in-law, speaking to them or breaking in on their conversation with remarks, looking at them, and sitting down beside them were all taboo. When in the same hut with their parents-in-law, they turned their sides or backs on them. A year or so after marriage, the restrictions between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law were partly, but never wholly, relaxed; those between son-in-law and father-in-law lasted through life. On visits of the father-in-law to his daughter, he and his son-in-law communicated wishes and news through the daughter and wife or by indirect discourse.

569 The man was, in theory, considered the head of the family, with
593 authority to rule. Actually, his authority was very far from absolute, and the woman was largely her own mistress, particularly in such provinces of her own as child rearing, food gathering, and canoe managing. Some men domineered over their wives, but not a few husbands were under the thumbs of their spouses. Some husbands were cruel, but if so they ran afoul of the wife's kin. More generally, woman's position both in the family and in the community seemed a respected one, not that of a drudge, slave, or inferior being, and she enjoyed a fairly high degree of freedom and independence.

684 Adultery was disapproved by the *Yahgan* code, but apparently
837 the code suffered appreciable infringement in practice. Adultery on the wife's part was, if discovered, punished by the husband with sound beatings, very rarely with death. Public opinion disapproved of her behavior. Adultery on the husband's part also gave rise to domestic battles in which the husband sometimes suffered severe treatment at his offended wife's hands. Jealousy on the part of both
648 husband and wife was common. Wife lending was absent. There was no professional prostitution; a woman, married or unmarried, of markedly loose character was looked down upon.

586 Separation and divorce were fairly frequent, but were not lightly resorted to. The most common cause appears to have been cruel treatment of the wife by the husband, though there were other causes such as marked laziness, negligence, or crabbedness on the part of the
618 wife. In case the wife became incapacitated through illness or age,
579 the man could, and, it seems, more commonly did, take to himself a second wife.